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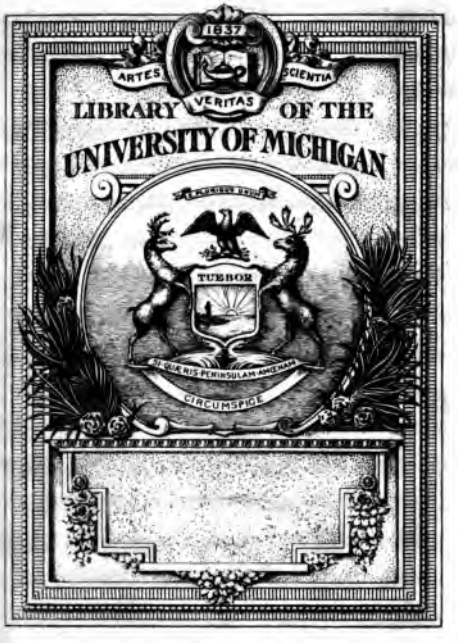
THOMAS JEFFERSON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Thomas Jefferson

A Little Journey by

Elbert Hubbard

And an Address by

John J. Lentz

Being two attempts to help perpetuate the memory & pass along the influence of the Great American

Done into a Printed Book by The Roycrofters at their Shop which is in East Aurora, New York, U.S.A., in the Year Nineteen Hundred Six

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Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson

WILLIAM and Mary College was founded by the persons whose names it bears, in 1692. The founders bestowed on it an endowment that would have been generous had there not been attached to it sundry strings in way of conditions. The intent was to make Indians Episcopalians, & white students clergymen; and the assumption being that between the whites and the aborigines there was but little difference, the curriculum was an ecclesiastic medley.

All the teachers were appointed by the Bishop of London, and the places were usually given to clergymen who were not needed in England.

To this college, in 1760, came Thomas Jefferson, a tall, red-haired youth of seventeen. He had a sharp nose and a sharp chin; and a youth having these has a sharp intellect—mark it well.

¶ This boy had not been "sent" to

Thomas Jefferson

college. He came of his own accord from his home at Shadwell, five days' horseback journey thru the woods ❧ His father was dead and his mother, a rare gentle soul, an invalid.

Death is not a calamity *per se;* nor is physical weakness necessarily a curse, for out of these seeming unkind conditions, nature often distils her finest products. The dying injunction of a father may impress itself upon a son as no example of right living ever can, and the physical disability of a mother may be an influence that works for excellence and strength ❧ The last expressed wish of Peter Jefferson was that his son should be well educated, and attain to a degree of useful manliness that the father had never been able to reach. And into the keeping of this fourteen-year-old youth the dying man, with the last flicker of his intellect, gave the mother, sisters, and baby brother.

We often hear of persons who became aged in a single night, their hair turning from dark to white, but I have

seen death thrust responsibility upon a lad and make of him a man between the rising of the sun and its setting. When we talk of right "environment" and the "proper conditions" that should surround growing youth we fan the air with words,—there is no such thing as a universal right environment.

An appreciative chapter might here be inserted concerning those beings who move about only in rolling chairs, who never see the winter landscape but through windows, and exert their gentle sway from an invalid's couch, to which the entire household or neighborhood come to confession or counsel. And yet I have small sympathy for the people who professionally enjoy poor health, and no man more than I reverences the Greek passion for physical perfection. But a close study of Jefferson's early life reveals the truth, that the death of his father and the physical weakness of his mother and sisters were factors that developed in him a gentle sense

of chivalry, a silken strength of will, and a habit of independent thought and action that served him in good stead throughout a long life.

Williamsburg was then the capital of Virginia. It contained only about a thousand inhabitants, but when the legislature was in session was very gay ❧ ❧

At one end of a wide avenue was the capitol, at the other end was the "palace" of the Governor, and when the city of Washington was laid out it was modeled after Williamsburg. On Saturdays there were horse races along the "Avenue"; every one gambled; cock-fights and dog-fights were regarded as manly diversions; there was much carousing at taverns, and often at private houses there were all-night dances where the rising sun found everybody but the servants plain drunk.

At the college, both teachers and scholars were obliged to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and to recite the Catechism. The atmosphere was

charged with theology. ¶ Young Jefferson had never before even seen a village of a dozen houses, and he looked upon this as a type of all cities. He thought about it, talked about it, wrote about it, and we now know that at this time his ideas concerning city *versus* country crystallized.

Fifty years after, when he had come to know London and Paris, and had seen the chief cities of Christendom, he repeated the words he had written in youth, "The hope of a nation lies in its tillers of the soil!"

On his mother's side he was related to the "First Families," but caste and aristocracy had no fascination for him, and he then began forming those ideas of utility, simplicity and equality that time only strengthened.

¶ His tutors and professors in college served chiefly as "horrible examples," with the shining exception of Doctor Small. The friendship that ripened between this man and young Jefferson is an ideal example of what can be done through the personal touch.

Thomas Jefferson

Men are only great as they excel in sympathy; and the difference between sympathy and imagination has not yet been shown us.

Doctor Small encouraged the young farmer from the hills to think and express himself. He did not endeavor to set him straight or explain everything for him, or correct all of his vagaries, or demand that he should memorize rules. He gave his affectionate sympathy to the boy who, with a sort of feminine tenderness, clung to the only person who understood him.

To Doctor Small, pedigree and history unknown, let us give the credit of being first in the list of friends that gave bent to the mind of Thomas Jefferson. John Burk, in his *History of Virginia*, refers to Professor Small thus: "He was not any too orthodox in his opinions." And here we catch a glimpse of a formative influence in the life of Jefferson that caused him to turn from the letter of the law and cleave to the spirit that maketh alive.

Thomas Jefferson

After school hours the tutor and the student walked and talked, and on Saturdays and Sundays went on excursions thru the woods; and to the youth there was given an impulse for a scientific knowledge of birds and flowers, and for the host of life that thronged the forest. And when the pair had strayed so far beyond the town that darkness gathered and stars came out, they conversed of the wonders of the sky.

The true scientist has no passion for killing things. He says with Thoreau, "To shoot a bird is to lose it." Professor Small had the gentle instinct that respects life, and he refused to take that which he could not give. To his youthful companion he would impart the secret of enjoying things without the passion for possession and the lust of ownership.

There is a myth abroad that college towns are intellectual centers; but the number of people in a college town (or any other) who really think, is very few.

Thomas Jefferson

Williamsburg was gay, and, this much said, it is needless to add it was not intellectual. But Professor Small was a thinker, and so was Governor Fauquier; and these two were firm friends, although very unlike in many ways. And to "the palace" of the courtly Fauquier, Small took his young friend Jefferson. Fauquier was often a master of the revels, but after his seasons of dissipation he turned to Small for absolution and comfort. At these times he seemed a paragon of excellence to Jefferson. To the grace of the French he added the earnestness of the English, and he quoted Pope, and talked of Swift, Addison and Thompson. Fauquier and Jefferson became friends, altho more than a score of years and a world of experience separated them. Jefferson caught a little of Fauquier's grace, love of books, and delight in architecture. But Fauquier helped him most by gambling away all of his ready money and getting drunk and smoking strong pipes with his

feet on the table. And Jefferson then vowed he would never handle a card, nor use tobacco, nor drink intoxicating liquors. And in conversation with Small he anticipated Buckle by saying, "To gain leisure, wealth must first be secured; but once leisure is gained, more people use it in the pursuit of pleasure than employ it in acquiring knowledge."

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson

HAD Jefferson lived in a great city he would have been an architect. His practical nature, his mastery of mathematics, his love of proportion, and his passion for music, are the basic elements that make a Christopher Wren. But Virginia, in 1765, offered no temptation to ambitions along that line; log houses with a goodly "crack" were quite good enough, and if the domicile proved too small the plan of the first was simply duplicated. Yet a career of some kind young Jefferson knew awaited him.

¶ About this time the rollicking Patrick Henry came along. Patrick played the violin and so did Thomas. These two young men had first met on a musical basis. Some otherwise sensible people hold that musicians are shallow and impractical; and I know one man who declares that truth and honesty and uprightness never dwelt in a professional musician's heart; and further, that the tribe is

totally incapable of comprehending the difference between *meum* & *tuum.* But this same man claims that actors are rascals who have lost their own characters in the business of playing they are somebody else. And yet I'll explain for the benefit of the captious that although Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry both fiddled, they never did and never would fiddle while Rome burned. Music was with them a pastime, not a profession.

Thomas Jefferson

¶ As soon as Patrick Henry arrived at Williamsburg he sought out his old friend Thomas Jefferson, because he liked him—and to save tavern bill. And Patrick announced that he had come to Williamsburg to be admitted to the bar.

"How long have you studied law?" asked Jefferson.

"Oh, for six weeks last Tuesday," was the answer.

Tradition has it that Jefferson advised Patrick to go home and study at least a fortnight more before making his application. But Patrick declared that

Thomas Jefferson

the way to learn law is to practise it, and he surely was right. Most young lawyers are really never aware of how little law they know until they begin to practise.

Patrick Henry was duly admitted, although George Wythe strenuously protested. Then Patrick went back home to tend bar (the other kind) for Laban, his father-in-law, for full four years. He studied hard and practised a little betimes—and his is the only instance of a bar-keeper acquiring wisdom while following his calling, that history records; and so for the encouragement of budding youth I write it down.

Thomas Jefferson

WITHOUT doubt it was the example of Patrick Henry that caused Jeferson to adopt his profession. But it was the literary side of law that first attracted him—not the practice of it. As a speaker he was singularly deficient, a slight physical malformation of the throat giving him a very poor and uncertain voice. But he studied law, and after all, it does not make much difference what a man studies—all knowledge is related, and the man who studies anything if he keeps at it will become learned.

So Jefferson studied in the office of George Wythe, and absorbed all that Fauquier had to offer, and grew wise in the beneficent companionship of Doctor Small. From a red-headed, lean, lank, awkward mountaineer, he developed into a gracious and graceful young man who has been described as "auburn-haired." And the evolution from being red-headed to having red hair, and from that to being

Thomas Jefferson

auburn-haired proves he was the genuine article. Still he was not handsome—that word cannot be used to describe him until he was sixty—for he was freckled, one shoulder was higher than the other, and his legs were so thin that they could not do justice to small-clothes.

Yet it will not do to assume that thin men are weak, any more than to take it for granted that fat men are strong. Jefferson was as muscular as a panther and could walk or ride or run six days and nights together. He could lift from the floor a thousand pounds.

When twenty-four, he hung out his lawyer's sign under that of George Wythe at Williamsburg. And clients came that way with retainers, and rich planters sent him business, and wealthy widows advised with him—and still he could not make a speech without stuttering. Many men can harangue a jury, and every village has its orator; but where is the wise and silent man who will advise you

in a way that will keep you out of difficulty, protect your threatened interests, and conduct the affairs you may leave in his hands so as to return your ten talents with other talents added! And I hazard the statement, without heat or prejudice, that if the experiment should be made with a thousand lawyers in any one of our larger cities, four-fifths of them would be found so deficient either mentally or morally, or both, that if ten talents were placed in their hands, they would not at the close of a year be able to account for the principal, to say nothing of the interest. And the bar of to-day is made up of a better class than it was in Jefferson's time, even if it has not the intellectual fibre that it had forty years ago.

But at the early age of twenty-five, Jefferson was a wise and skilful man in the world's affairs (and a man who is wise is also honest) and men of this stamp do not remain hidden in obscurity. The world needs just such individuals and needs them badly.

Thomas Jefferson

Jefferson had the quiet, methodical industry that works without undue expenditure of nervous force; that intuitive talent which enables the possessor to read a whole page at a glance and drop at once upon the vital point; and then he had the ability to get his whole case on paper, marshaling his facts in a brief pointed way that served to convince better than eloquence. These are the characteristics that make for success in practice before our Courts of Appeal; and Jefferson's success shows that they serve better than bluster even with a backwoods bench composed of fox-hunting farmers.

In 1768, when Jefferson was twenty-five, he went down to Shadwell and ran for member of the Virginia Legislature. It was the proper thing to do, for he was the richest man in the county, being heir to his father's forty thousand acres, and it was expected that he would represent his district. He called on every voter in the parish, shook hands with every-

body, complimented the ladies, caressed the babies, treated crowds at every tavern and kept a large punch bowl and open house at home.

He was elected.

The Legislature convened on the 11th of May, 1769, with nearly a hundred members present, one of the number being Colonel George Washington. It took up two days' time for the assembly to elect a speaker and get ready for business. On the third day, four resolutions were introduced—pushed to the front largely through the influence of our new member. These resolutions were:

I. No taxation without representation.

II. The Colonies may concur and unite in seeking redress for grievances

III. Sending accused persons away from their own country for trial is an inexcusable wrong.

IV. We will send an address on these things to the King beseeching his royal interposition.

The resolutions were passed; they did not mean much anyway, said the opposition. And another resolution was then passed to this effect: "We will send a copy of these resolutions to every legislative body on the continent."

That was a little stronger but did not mean much either.

It was voted upon and passed.

Then the assembly adjourned, having dispatched a copy of the resolutions to the newly appointed Governor, Lord Boutetourt, who had lately arrived from London.

Next day, the Governor's secretary appeared when the assembly convened and repeated the following formula: "The Governor commands the House to attend His Excellency in the Council Chamber." The body marched to the Council Chamber, and stood around the throne waiting the pleasure of His Lordship.

He made a speech which I will quote entire. "Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses: I have

heard your resolves, and augur ill of their effect. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

And that was the end of Jefferson's first term in office,—the reward for all the hand-shaking, all the caressing, all the treating!

The members looked at each other but no one said anything because there was nothing to say. The secretary made an impatient gesture with his hand to the effect that they should disperse, and they did.

Just how those legally elected representatives and now legally common citizens took their rebuff we do not know.

Did Washington forget his usual poise and break out into one of those swearing fits where everybody wisely made way? And how did Richard Henry Lee like it, and the Randolphs, and George Wythe?

Did Patrick Henry wax eloquent that afternoon in a barroom and did Jefferson do more than smile grimly,

Thomas Jefferson

biding his time? ¶ Massachusetts kept a complete history of her political heresies, but Virginia chased foxes and left the refinements of literature to dillettanti. But this much we know: Those country gentlemen did not go off peaceably and quietly to race horses or play cards. The slap in the face from the gloved hand of Lord Boutetourt awoke every boozy sense of security and gave vitality to all those fanatical messages sent by Samuel Adams. Washington, we are told, spoke of it as a bit of upstart authority on the part of the new Governor; but Jefferson with prophetic vision saw the end.

A LEADING lawyer at Williamsburg, and one against whom Jefferson was often pitted, was John Wayles ❧ I need not explain that lawyers hotly opposed to each other in a trial are not necessarily enemies. The way in which Jefferson conducted his cases pleased the veteran Wayles and he invited Jefferson to visit him at his fine estate, called "The Forest," a few miles out from Williamsburg. In the family of Mr. Wayles dwelt his widowed daughter, the beautiful Martha Skelton, gracious and rich as Jefferson in worldly goods ❧ She played the spinet with great feeling, and the spinet and the violin go very well together. So together Thomas and Martha played and sometimes a bit of discord crept in, for Thomas was absent-minded, and in the business of watching the widow's fingers touch the keys, played flat.

Long years before, he had liked and admired Becca, gazed most fondly at

Sukey, and finally loved Belinda. He did not tell her so, but he told John Page, and vowed that if he did not wed Belinda he would go through life solitary and alone.

In a few months Belinda married that detested being—another. Then it was he again swore to his friend Page he would be true to her memory even though she had dissembled. But now he saw that the widow Skelton had intellect, while Belinda had been but clever; the widow had soul, while Belinda had nothing but form. Jefferson's experience seems to settle that mooted question, "Can a man love two women at the same time?" Unlike Martha Custis, this Martha was won only after a protracted and persistent wooing, with many little skirmishes and misunderstandings & explanations, and sweet makings-up that were surely worth a quarrel.

Then they were married at "The Forest," and rode away through the woods to Monticello. Jefferson was twenty-seven, and although it may

not be proper to question closely as to the age of a widow, yet the bride, we have reason to believe, was about the age of her husband.

It was a most happy mating—all of their quarreling had been done before marriage. The fine intellect and high spirit of Jefferson found their mate. She was his comrade and helpmeet as well as his wife ❧ He could read his favorite *Ossian* aloud to her, and when he tired she would read to him; and all of his plans and ambitions and hopes were hers. In laying out the grounds and beautifying that home on Monticello mountain she took much more than a passive interest. It was "Our Home," and to make it a home in very sooth for her beloved husband was her highest ambition. She knew the greatness of her mate, and all her dreams for his advancement were to come true. With her, ideality was to become a reality. But she was to see it only in part. ¶ Yet she had seen her husband reelected to the Virginia Legislature;

Thomas Jefferson

sent as a member to the Colonial Congress at Philadelphia, there to write the best known of all American literary productions; from their mountain home she had seen British troops march into Charlottesville, four miles away, and then, burdened with household treasure, had fled, knowing that Monticello would be devastated by the enemy's ruthless tread. She had known Washington, and had visited his lonely wife there at Mount Vernon when victory hung in the balance, when defeat meant that Thomas Jefferson and George Washington would be the first victims of a vengeful foe. She saw her husband War-Governor of Virginia in its most perilous hour; she lived to know that Washington had won; that Cornwallis was his "guest," and that no man, save Washington alone, was more honored in proud Virginia than her beloved lord and husband. She saw a messenger on horseback approaching with a packet from the Congress at Philadelphia to the effect

that "His Excellency, the Honorable Thomas Jefferson," had been appointed as one of an embassy to France in the interest of the United States, with Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane as colleagues, and knowing her husband's love for Franklin, and his respect for France, she leaned over his chair and with misty eyes saw him write his simple "No," and knew that the only reason he declined was because he would not leave his wife at a time when she might most need his tenderness and sympathy.

¶ And then they retired to beloved Monticello to enjoy the rest that comes only after work well done—to spend the long vacation of their lives in simple home-keeping work and studious leisure, her husband yet in manhood's prime, scarce thirty-seven, as men count time, and rich, passing rich in goods and lands.

And then she died.

And Thomas Jefferson, the strong, the self-poised, the self-reliant, fell in a helpless swoon, and was laid on a

pallet and carried out, as though he, too, were dead. For three weeks his dazed senses prayed for death. He could endure the presence of no one save his eldest daughter, a slim, slender girl of scarce ten years, grown a woman in a day. By her loving touch and tenderness he was lured back from death and reason's night into the world of life and light. With tottering steps, led by the child who had to think for both, he was taken out on the veranda of beautiful Monticello. He looked out on stretching miles of dark blue hills and waving woods and winding river. He gazed, and as he looked it came slowly to him that the earth was still as when he last saw it, and realized that this would be so even if he were gone. Then, turning to the child, who stood by, stroking his locks, it came to him that even in our grief there may be selfishness, and for the first time he responded to the tender caress and said: "Yes, we will live, daughter—live in memory of her!"

Thomas Jefferson

WHEN two men of equal intelligence and sincerity quarrel, both are probably right ❧ Hamilton and Jefferson were opposed to each other by temperament and disposition, in a way that caused either to look with distrust on any proposition made by the other ❧ Yet, when Washington pressed upon Jefferson the position of Secretary of State, I cannot but think that he did it as an antidote to the growing power and the vaunting ambition of Hamilton. Washington won his victories, as great men ever do, by wisely choosing his aides ❧ Hamilton had done yeoman's service in every branch of the government, and while the chief sincerely admired his genius, he guessed his limitations. Power grows until it topples, and when it topples, innocent people are crushed. Washington was wise as a serpent, and rather than risk an open ruction with Hamilton by personally setting bounds, he invited Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson

into his cabinet, and the acid was neutralized to a degree where it could be safely handled.

Jefferson had just returned from Paris with his beloved daughter, Martha. He was intending soon to return to France and study social science at close range. Already he had seen that mob of women march out to Versailles and fetch the King to Paris, and had seen barricade after barricade erected with the stones from the leveled Bastile; he was on intimate and affectionate terms with the Marquis de Lafayette and the Republican leaders, and here was a pivotal point in his life. Had not Washington persuaded him to remain "just for the present" in America, he might have played a part in Carlyle's best book, that book which is not history, but more—an epic. So, among the many obligations that we owe Washington, must be named this one of pushing Thomas Jefferson, the scholar and the man of peace, into the political embroglio and shutting the door.

Then it was that Hamilton's taunting temper awoke a degree of power in Jefferson that before he wist not of; then it was that he first fully realized that the "United States" with England as a sole pattern was not enough.

A pivotal point! Yes, a pivotal point for Jefferson, America, and the world; for Jefferson gave the rudder of the ship of state such a turn to starboard that there was never again danger of her drifting onto aristocratic shoals, an easy victim to the rapacity of Great Britain. Hamilton's distrust of the people found no answering echo in Jefferson's mind.

He agreed with Hamilton that a "strong government" administered by a few, provided the few are wise and honorable, is the best possible government. Nay, he went further still and declared that an absolute monarchy in which the monarch was all-wise and all-powerful, could not be improved upon by the imagination of man.

Thomas Jefferson

In his composition there was a saving touch of humor that both Hamilton and Washington seemed to lack. He could smile at himself; but none ever dared turn a joke on Hamilton, much less on Washington. And so when Hamilton explained that a strong government administered by Washington, President; Jefferson, Secretary of State; Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Knox, Secretary of War, and Randolph, Attorney General, was pretty nearly ideal, no one smiled. But Jefferson's plain inference was that power is dangerous and man is fallible; that a man so good as Washington dies to-morrow and another man steps in, and that those who have the government in their present keeping should curb ambition, limit their own power, and thus fix a precedent for those who are to follow.

The wisdom that Jefferson as a statesman showed in working for a future good, and the willingness to forego the pomp of personal power, to sac-

rifice self if need be, that the day he should not see might be secure, ranks him as first among statesmen. For a statesman is one who builds a state and not a politician who is dead, as some have said.

Thomas Jefferson

Others, since, have followed Jefferson's example, but in the world's history, I do not recall a man before him who, while still having power in his grasp, was willing to trust the people.

The one mistake of Washington that borders on blunder, was in refusing to take wages for his work. In doing this he visited untold misery upon others, who not having married rich widows, tried to follow his example and floundered into woeful debt and disgrace; and thereby were lost to useful society and the world.

And there are yet numerous public offices where small men rattle about because men who can fill the place cannot afford it. Bryce declares that no able and honest man of moderate means can afford to take an active

Thomas Jefferson

part in municipal affairs in America —and Bryce is right.

When Jefferson became President, in his message to Congress again and again he advised the fixing of sufficient salaries to secure the best men for every branch of the service; and suggested the absurdity of expecting anything for nothing, or the hope of officials not "fixing things" if not properly paid.

Men from the soil who gain power are usually intoxicated by it; beginning as democrats they evolve into aristocrats, then later into tyrants, if kindly fate does not interpose, and are dethroned by the people who made them. And it is not surprising that this man, born into a plenty that bordered on affluence, and who never knew from experience the necessity of economy (until in old age tobacco and slavery had wrecked Virginia and Monticello alike), should set an almost ideal example of simplicity, moderation and brotherly kindness.

¶ Among the chief glories belonging

to him are these: ¶ I. Writing the Declaration of Independence. *Thomas Jefferson*

II. Suggesting and carrying out the present decimal monetary system.

III. Inducing Virginia to deed to the States as their common property, the Northwest Territory.

IV. Purchasing from France for the comparatively trifling sum of fifteen million dollars Louisiana and all the territory extending from the Gulf of Mexico to Puget Sound, being at the rate of a fraction of a cent per acre, and giving the United States full control of the Mississippi River.

But over and beyond these is the spirit of patriotism that makes each true American feel he is parcel and part of the very fabric of the state, and in his deepest heart believe that "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Thomas Jefferson

THE RADICAL

Address of Hon. John J. Lentz, of Columbus, Ohio, at the Roycroft Pavilion, East Aurora, New York, July Fourth, Nineteen Hundred Five

Thomas Jefferson

HERE in East Aurora, the Mecca of more than five hundred thousand thinkers who read *The Philistine*, here in the city of the greatest university in all America, the greatest institution of learning, I come to address an East Aurora audience—no, an American audience—on the birthday of the American Republic.

¶ We are living in an age of electricity and we travel with great speed in every direction and on every line of civilization. I can't forget, however, that I am in New York when I am in East Aurora. Ordinarily we think of East Aurora as in the upper atmosphere, dealing with something higher than the earth, dealing with something more noble than the mere pocketbook; but when the balloon comes down we are in the State of New York.

There seems at times to be a strong bias toward the belief that Jefferson was an aristocrat and a conservative.

Thomas Jefferson

¶ This is the Fourth of July, the birthday given to Thomas Jefferson by his own brain and heart, and I will show you that he was at all times *the* radical of the radicals.

Eloquence has carried the eagle into the skies, eloquence has bounded this country with its seas and with its Canada and its Mexico ✍ But there are occasions when we ought to come down to sober thought. I pride myself in speaking here to an audience that recognizes that there is something better than the purse, that there is something better than acres, and that there is after all a higher purpose than money grubbing, & that is to liberate the intellect. Build all the houses, and railways, and ships you please, but when you 're through building you 're building nothing unless you have built better hopes and better hearts for this country. I recognize in politics no right except to build a higher manhood and a nobler womanhood. I recognize no statesmanship that does not everlastingly look after

the common herd of humanity with the hope and the purpose that every individual shall be built up & become a pride to the country.

I believe that this country has no other mission than to have as high intellect and as high moral purpose in the factory, as in the church, in the school or in the legislative hall. I do not concede that the time still remains for masses and privileged classes. We have passed beyond that.

I do not care to discuss Hamilton, except to say that he was the one who believed in a president for life. He believed that the president should appoint the governors of the different states for life—he believed substantially in a monarchy. He brought to our attention a line of thought which it was well enough to consider, but which was repudiated by a majority of the best men that ever lived in the American Republic. He proposed a form of government that was found wanting when tried in the crucible of 1776.

omas ¶ Hamilton and Jefferson stood for
erson diametrically opposite propositions. Hamilton called the people "a blind and brutal monster." Jefferson said that within the heart and brain of the people you will find the true aristocracy of this Republic ❧ Hamilton believed in an aristocracy that meant an oligarchy. Jefferson believed in a democracy that meant Christian socialism ❧ Jefferson believed, with Jesus of Nazareth, in the doctrine of loving your neighbor as you love yourself ❧ Jefferson was the first politician or statesman who wrote into a public document the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, and he wrote it in one word—Equality. And the great Lincoln was good enough and frank enough to say that he never entertained a political sentiment that he did not draw from the life and writings of Thomas Jefferson.

Now, my friends who think you are Republicans, and you who think you are Democrats, unless you believe in the brotherhood of man, unless you

are willing to concede to every one what you ask for yourselves, and go farther than that, and extend to every one what you demand for yourselves, you are neither Lincoln Republicans nor Jeffersonian Democrats. Emerson said, "It is not so important that we prevent others from cheating us, but it is exceedingly important that we do not cheat them." That is the business of an American citizen. Be careful that you don't cheat some one else.

The same thing is true in politics. A man can't be an American citizen and be a Christian at the same time, without doing unto others as he would have others do unto him. And the political party that resorts to the boss and the crimes perpetrated by the bosses, has no Christianity in it. The political party that will resort to the gerrymander, in order to control an unfair proportion of the total vote of a state, is criminal in its methods. And the man or woman who is willing to accept that kind of an advantage,

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is a coward instead of a Jeffersonian Democrat or a Lincoln Republican. It is the lowest kind of cowardice. Talk about King George the Third and his little five per cent taxation without representation! When you Republicans are willing to take the control in the State of Pennsylvania of all congressional representatives, by resorting to the gerrymander, or when you Democrats, who dominate in a state like Texas, are willing to do likewise, there is something rotten not only in Denmark but also in this country.

Now, if Jefferson was a fakir, it was because he implicitly believed that all men were created equal ✍ And he proved his words by his practices. You can't take the full measure of Jefferson in the light of 1905—you must take this man as he stood in the environments of his first public act in 1769. When Socrates sacrificed his life, when Jesus of Nazareth sacrificed His life, was either a fakir? ✍ When Thomas Jefferson in the House of

Burgesses, in 1769, introduced a bill to permit the master to make his slave free, knowing that every slave master in Virginia was opposed to it, was he doing a popular thing? Was he then catering to the rich? Was he a flunky? Was he a sycophant? Or was he a radical? Did he go down to the root of things? Did he believe in equality when he introduced that measure? I remind you that prior to 1769, and for many years thereafter, the black man or black woman was a mere beast of burden—if a neighbor chose to liberate his slave and the slave was turned out on the highway, the very first person who saw this slave, could take him, as he would take a stray horse or cow, and put him on the auction block and sell him, and make him a slave again, and put the proceeds in the public treasury. Jefferson simply introduced a bill to permit a humane master to liberate a black man or a black woman—to make of the black man or the black woman a human being. But it was

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repudiated almost unanimously in the House of Burgesses of Virginia. I hear a great many name some other as the originator of the anti-slavery movement, but it was Jefferson who introduced the first bill against it. ¶ I propose to show my friend Elbert Hubbard that this man Jefferson has made all the lawyers respectable. Our friend Elbert Hubbard teaches every one something, and almost any one a great many things, and following his example and precept, I made a little journey, on the first day of last February, to Williamsburg, Virginia. I wanted to see the very ground upon which this Thomas Jefferson entered his college career, and I went to the library of William and Mary College, and the librarian showed me the old account books of the college in the winter and summer of 1760-'61-'62, and what do you suppose Thomas Jefferson paid for his learning? In the year 1760-'61 he paid thirteen pounds, that is sixty-five dollars; and for the second year, thirteen pounds,

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and thus he graduated at a cost of one hundred and thirty dollars. The author of the Declaration of Independence got his collegiate education for one hundred and thirty dollars! What Thomas Jefferson learned was to use his own head. That is what Elbert Hubbard does, & he is the best representation of Thomas Jefferson in this country to-day. This country has a drought of thinking people just now. You can hire men to dig in a ditch for a dollar a day ✍ But you can't hire men to think at any price. Most men who pretend to think are flunkies, trailing along after some one, either in politics or religion.

Thomas Jefferson's career began right in that little town of Williamsburg —it is hardly big enough now to be called a town ✍ At one end of the street is William and Mary College, & at the other end of the street they have marked out the old foundation lines of the House of Burgesses. But this same House of Burgesses has something else in store for you and

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me. ¶ In 1662, from this selfsame town, Colonial Governor Berkeley sent over to England, to Charles II., a report on the condition of the colony. In that message were these two statements: "There are no free schools in Virginia. There are no printing-presses in Virginia. God be thanked for it." What do you think of that for a governor? Thanking God that there are no free schools and no printing-presses in Virginia. And he went farther and said: "And there are not likely to be these hundred years, and God be thanked for that." Well, Berkeley, you were neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet! Berkeley never thought that this boy would ride from Charlottesville, on horseback, clear over to Williamsburg and fiddle his way back and forth, stopping at the farm-houses and thus paying for his night's lodging.

Such, my friends, was the condition of Virginia in 1662. They had no free schools, they had no printing-presses. We will come down quickly to 1776,

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for I want to reach the Declaration of Independence and call attention to the fact that this was only one of the many radical things that Thomas Jefferson did. Thomas Jefferson, in 1777, stood in the little House of Burgesses, or House of Delegates, as it was afterwards called, and there did as important work as that of writing the word Equality in the Declaration of Independence—for as a legislator in the State of Virginia his bills directed against entailed estates and primogeniture, and in favor of entire religious freedom and universal education, were long strides toward practical equality. The word Equality in the Declaration of Independence still stands as an ideal rather than the real—still stands as a matter of hope rather than a matter of history.

When I was a schoolboy I thought this Thomas Jefferson was a man who went to Philadelphia in 1776, and after a few days wrote the Declaration of Independence. But this is not so. Jefferson was eleven years writing

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that Declaration of Independence. Robert G. Ingersoll made a political speech in Indianapolis in 1876. His subject on this occasion was, "Why I am a Republican & not a Democrat." He had an audience of about ten acres of people to which he spoke nearly the entire afternoon. When he had finished they gathered around him, and among those who eagerly congratulated him was a blue jeans Hoosier, who said: "Mr. Ingersoll, that's the best off-hand speech I ever heard in my life." ❧ To which Mr. Ingersoll promptly replied: "Yes, my friend, but I have been just ten years preparing that speech."

So Thomas Jefferson did not write the Declaration of Independence with one stroke of the pen ❧ In 1765, while a law student at Williamsburg, he stood out in the corridor of the little House of Burgesses and heard Patrick Henry say: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First had his Cromwell," & when some of the old Tories shouted, "Treason, treason,"

Henry said, "and George the Third may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." That is the day, that is the hour and minute when Thomas Jefferson began the preparation of the Declaration of Independence.

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From May 30, 1765, down to July 4, 1776, Thomas Jefferson was thinking continuously on the rights of the people as against any and every form of tyranny, however and wherever intrenched, either in state or church, and it was during these eleven years of thought and preparation that he reached that mental and philosophic stage which prompted him to summarize a holy and sacred principle in these words: "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." Of all the vows taken and of all the oaths registered, dedicating human lives and mortal careers either to church or state, there probably never was a more loyal & faithful resolution registered, on earth or in heaven, than that of Thomas Jefferson when he declared,

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"I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." And the tyrants against whom Jefferson swore this eternal hostility, & against whom Lincoln swore eternal hostility when he took up the work of human rights where Jefferson left it off, are not all dethroned.

The English monarch who levied tribute upon American citizenship was repudiated and dethroned so far as one form of tyranny and taxation is concerned. The slave masters who misappropriated the daily service and earnings of the black slaves, are no longer an American oligarchy. That school of priests and preachers who believed in the union of church and state, who believed that the All-wise and Omnipotent God could only be served at the expense of the taxpayers of the state, are to-day without any support except here & there in some insignificant sectarian school, where the beardless youth in the debating society rushes in to defend an obsolete

institution, upon the principle that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread." That class of citizens who argued against the right of the state to maintain a public school system, and guarantee universal education and universal emancipation from the demons and monsters of superstition and bigotry, are substantially all in the graveyard of oblivion, their bones lying side by side with the skeletons of the ichthyosaurus and the mastodon. "Defunct" and "obsolete" are the words burnt into the very bone of the forehead of several forms of tyranny ✍ But the tyrants on the throne are not the only tyrants who have afflicted humanity and retarded civilization ✍ It does not matter whether you levy tribute upon the masses while you sit as a monarch, or whether you levy tribute upon the masses by controlling some great trust, like the oil trust, the beef trust, the street-railway trust, or some other trust.

Allow me to digress, for a moment,

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from my subject, while I read you a paragraph from an article by Charles Edward Russell on the beef trust, in which Mr. Russell says: "Names change; details change; but when the facts of these actual conditions are laid bare it will puzzle a thoughtful man to say wherein the rule of the great power to be described differs in any essential from the rule of a feudal tyrant in the darkness of the Middle Ages. Three times a day this power comes to the table of every household in America, rich or poor, great or small, known or unknown; it comes there and extorts its tribute. It crosses the ocean and makes its presence felt in multitudes of homes that would not know how to give it a name. It controls prices and regulates traffic in a thousand markets. It changes conditions and builds up and pulls down industries; it makes men poor or rich as it will; it controls or establishes or obliterates immense enterprises across the civilized circuit. Its lightest words affect men on the

plains of Argentina or the by-streets of London."

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Such is the tyranny against which both Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln would proclaim, if they were living to-day, just as they fulminated against the white man's tyranny over the black slave, years ago ❧ The tyranny of a foreign power is not so much to be feared, my friends, as the tyranny of the trustocracy here at home. We need not in the least fear the aggressions of Russia, or Spain, or Great Britain, but if it were not for the educational work of the East Aurora University and other like institutions, I would fear that the greed of our own trustocracy would destroy the Republic just as all other republics have been destroyed by the greed and arrogance of a class who have secured special privileges for the few ❧ ❧

When the students in Munich, in Berlin, or Heidelberg lose themselves in the labyrinth of philosophy, some one says: "Back to Kant," Immanuel

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Kant, the greatest modern philosopher ❧ ❧

And so, with an American problem, whatever problem it may be, if you only go back to Jefferson you will find how to solve it, whether it is 1905 or 2005. After Jefferson went up to Philadelphia and wrote the Declaration of Independence, what did he do next? Was he seeking that which influences the average man of vanity? No. He declined a reelection to the Continental Congress, saying: "I must go to the State Legislature. I must begin reforms at home where I can be of the most service to the people." What did he do? Let me say to you that he introduced the four bills which have contributed more to the progress and prosperity of the American people in a single century, than has been accomplished in any other civilization in a thousand years. He introduced a bill against entailed estates, and made it a part of the fundamental law of the State of Virginia, and made it substantially

the law of an entire continent. He took away from the dead hand the power of controlling and directing property in perpetuity regardless of the needs and conditions of a higher intelligence and a later civilization. He also introduced another bill to abolish the laws in favor of the clergy, who were being paid out of the public treasury. You could n't believe with Confucius, nor with Mohammed, nor in the Jewish religion; you had to believe in the Christian religion—not that Christian religion taught by Jesus of Nazareth, but that Christian religion taught by the theologians. You were compelled to accept the theology of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and you were compelled to accept the religion which imposed upon many thinkers the penalty of ostracism and martyrdom, or the degradation and dry rot of hypocrisy.

It was still more true in the day of Jefferson than it is now, as Father Ducey of New York so happily puts it, "We have too much churchianity

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and too little Christianity." You were not permitted to voice any thought or idea, or advance any theory outside the beaten path of superstition and bigotry, without assuming the pains & penalties of legalized persecution, without subjecting yourself to the danger of legalized murder. It is a matter of recorded history that prior to the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, a poor Quaker woman came to this country to preach her simple and sincere doctrine of Christ's work and mission on earth. For the first offense of such preaching the statutory penalty was to cut off one ear. For the second offense they cut off the other ear, and if she came back the third time she was put to death.

Think, my friends, of a civilization so benighted, so bigoted, so viciously superstitious as this! Think of the founders of the Quaker religion, who came to teach the simple lesson of loving your neighbor as you love yourself, who came to emphasize by their precept and their example, the

religion of the Nazarene teacher who taught that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us, and who did not teach the necessity of church spires and taxation of the people for the support of the clergy. ¶ I think it was Anna Dickinson who said that the Quaker religion, in proportion to the number of followers of that faith, has nestled and fledged more philanthropists than any other religion on the face of the earth; and yet the heroic women and men who brought that simple faith to America were persecuted even unto death. Legalized murder did not stop with the repeal of this statute against the union of church and state, nor did legalized murder begin in the State of Virginia or in the State of Massachusetts ✍ Neither did legalized murder begin when John Calvin had Michael Servetus indicted, convicted and burned at the stake for believing and saying that "Unbaptized infants are not lost," and that, "It is foolish to say that the salvation of a baby

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depends upon a man's choosing to have it baptized." Neither did legalized murder begin when Jesus of Nazareth was indicted & condemned to death. Neither did legalized murder begin when Socrates was indicted, convicted and condemned to death. ¶ But we need not go back farther in studying the history of these legalized murders and murderers ☙ The question before us on this anniversary of the birthday of American freedom is to decide not when this legalized persecution and murder began, but when they shall cease. John Brown, at the hands of a court duly organized, was legally murdered ☙ Benjamin Lundy, the teacher and inspirer of William Lloyd Garrison, was trampled almost to death under the heel of a brutal and vicious slave dealer in the city of Baltimore, and when the slave dealer was brought before the court and tried for assault with intent to kill, the little political puppet who sat on the political bench catering to the controlling influence of the

community, commenting upon the verdict of the jury, which found the slave dealer guilty, fined him one dollar and remarked that Lundy had received no more than he deserved. ¶ I cite these instances to show how uncertain & unreliable any intellect is; to show you how necessary it is that each generation as well as each individual should be instant and constant in the prayer for that divine help which will make us honest enough, generous enough and bold enough to dedicate ourselves with Jefferson to the doctrine of "eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man." This statute of religious freedom, written by the hand of Thomas Jefferson, deserves a monument towering as high as the tallest monument that ever has been or ever will be dedicated to the brain that formulated for all time the Christian charity and the Christian equality of the Declaration of Independence. ¶ In addition to the statute against entails and the statute for religious

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Thomas Jefferson

freedom, Jefferson introduced and secured the passage of the act against primogeniture, that accursed policy transplanted from England to this country, under which the oldest son inherited all the real estate of the father, regardless of the rights of the daughters and the other sons. In this generation it is impossible to respect the brain and heart of a civilization gross enough to entertain the plan of disinheriting the daughters whose mothers had helped to create the estate, but such was its tyranny over the mind of man in Jefferson's time that at first it was impossible to induce the committee having the bill in charge to report in favor of placing all the sons and daughters upon a basis of equality with reference to ancestral realty.

Finally the other members of the committee proposed to report an amendment to Jefferson's bill, so as to give the oldest son twice as large a share as any of the other children. Thereupon, Jefferson, in the course

of his argument against this proposed modification of his bill, said:

"I will agree to support your bill giving twice as much of the property of the father to the oldest son as is given to each of the other sons or daughters, provided you will incorporate into the law a condition that requires the oldest son to eat twice as much food, wear twice as much clothing, and do twice as much work as each of the other children."

¶ This argument lifted the cloud of ignorance from the stupid brains of the other members of the committee, and strange to say, they all consented to bring in the bill giving to each of the children, whether son or daughter, equal share in the father's property.

¶ This bill, my friends, is another evidence of the radicalism of Thomas Jefferson—another evidence of the courage and determination of this master statesman to free the human mind from one more of the tyrannies and fetiches of the Dark Ages. It was no small matter for Jefferson to thus

antagonize the first-born sons of the entire State of Virginia. Conceive, if you please, the mental status of the first-born sons who were then in possession of the estates of their dead fathers ✍ Conceive, if you will, the bitter opposition of the first-born sons who were still living in expectation of receiving the ancestral establishment in its entirety ✍ Here was a powerful and wealthy class whom Jefferson antagonized at the expense of being called an anarchist and a demagogue, but time and the sense of decency of a higher civilization has demonstrated that Jefferson, the radical, was not a bidder for place and power when he introduced a bill against primogeniture.

In addition to these three bills, he introduced, in the same legislature of 1777, a bill providing for universal education, beginning with what is to-day known as the common or the district school, and ending with what is to-day known as the state university. Let us, if possible, transport

ourselves into the conditions and environments of the men who lived in Jefferson's time, and we shall find that class known as the landed aristocracy and another class known as the "white trash," inferior to the negro slaves in the estimation of the landed aristocrats. There we find the people ruled by a clergy supported at the expense of the taxpayers. There we find many of the ministers reaping a rich reward in the way of bonuses and compensation for acting as teachers and tutors, and thus we find two united influences, the land owners and the preachers, opposed, for selfish reasons, to the education of the children of the poor at the expense of the state, and so effective was this opposition to Jefferson's bill for universal education that the bill was defeated.

At that time the ministers had two special privileges, one was to dictate religion on Sunday, and the other to sell education on Monday; in fact, the special privileges and property

rights of the preachers in education and religion in the days of Jefferson's young manhood, remind me of a remark I once heard made by one who said that he kept all his property and all his religion in his wife's name. The preachers of Jefferson's time also remind me of a remark I heard made by Henry Ward Beecher, when he said from his pulpit in Plymouth Church: "I have known a great many men so religious they would not shave themselves on Sunday, but they would shave their neighbors on Monday."

Have I made it plain that this radical, Thomas Jefferson, was more radical and more courageous than the most radical of any of the radicals of your day and my day? Jefferson found himself surrounded and hemmed in by an intellectual and social condition which required the teaching of dead languages, and the translation from one language into another, almost to the exclusion of any other form of intellectual activity. This process of

education was largely responsible for the petrified intellects of the Dark Ages, where it was contended that "nothing that is new is true, and nothing that is true is new;" an age which branded scientific thought as a heresy and repudiated the spirit of invention as the manifestation of a witch or a devil.

What sheer nonsense, this drumming and drumming away at Latin and Greek to the exclusion of electricity and chemistry! I believe in mental muscle; I believe in the discipline of the brain by the act of translating from one language to another, but there is such a thing as overtraining in the translation of dead languages as well as overtraining in baseball and football, and other forms of athletic intoxication. This generation does not fully appreciate its indebtedness to Jefferson the educator, nor its great indebtedness to Jefferson the legislator. It was Jefferson's mission to liberate the human mind from the routine repetition of classic literature.

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It was Jefferson's mission to open the human mind to the light and the lightning of God's increasing purpose. It was Jefferson's mission to prepare the way for the progress that has come as a result of the public school system. Since the day when Jesus of Nazareth came to teach the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, no teacher, no preacher, no legislator has brought to the millions of human beings a diviner or holier message than the bill for universal education introduced by Jefferson, the radical, in the little House of Burgesses in the Old Dominion in 1777 ✍ Then and there began the agitation which to-day has its best vindication in our common school system and in such institutions as the University of Michigan.

I was taught Latin and Greek, but I thank God I was able to forget it, and I condemn my teachers for not having known enough to direct my hours, and days, and weeks, and months, and years to the study of

science, history & literature. ¶ The business of the state should be more than building penitentiaries and jails, and electing sheriffs and constables. It is fully as much the business of the statesman and the state to train the brain as it is the business of the clergy and the church to train the heart. I have no patience with that class of statesmanship which collects taxes for the sole purpose of placing a club in the hands of a policeman, a gun in the hands of a soldier, and a battleship upon the bosom of the ocean. I am one of those who agree with Elizabeth Barrett Browning that:

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Conquering may prove as lordly and complete
a thing
In lifting upward as in striking low.

I am one of those who believe that the fame of Alexander, and Cæsar and Napoleon should be cast upon the junk heap of curiosities of an obsolete age. Their military careers are as much out of date, & as useless for instruction or inspiration, as are

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the ox-cart and the corduroy road in this day of steam and electric travel. ¶ Jefferson believed what the Japanese adopted thirty years ago as their national motto: "Education is the basis of all progress." But Thomas Jefferson found the preachers and the wealthier classes opposed to his free school system, because it threatened to take away from the one class a few paltry pieces of silver, which they were accustomed to receive for their teaching, and from the other class a few extra dollars in the way of taxes for the support of the free schools. This measure deprived Jefferson, the radical, of the influence of the rich, because they did not want their sons and daughters educated with the "white trash," nor did they care to be taxed for the purpose of lifting the children of the poor to a position where, by education, they might easily prove themselves the superior, intellectually and morally, to those who had been reared in indolence and luxury. The combined

influences of these so-called upper classes—the so-called best society—prevented the passage of this bill at this time.

In Jefferson's young manhood he was unable to secure the establishment of the university, the grammar school or the primary school. His bill for a free school was defeated absolutely in 1777, nor did he make any substantial headway with his educational system until ten years after he had retired from the presidency of the United States; but Jefferson, like Socrates of Athens, and Jesus of Nazareth, was untiring and unwavering in his devotion to a principle, and having foreseen in his philosophic eye the great benefits of a free school system, was instant and constant in his advocacy of it, and finally there came some little evidence that his agitation was bearing fruit.

¶ In 1819, he secured from the State Legislature a petty appropriation of fifteen thousand dollars to change Albemarle Academy into the Central

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College of Virginia, and a little later he succeeded in having them call the institution the University of Virginia, of which he was the father & founder. ¶ At this time the people of Virginia lacked in conscience and intelligence sufficient to establish the common school. It remained for the State of Michigan and other western states to establish a school system extending from the district school through the high school to the state university. Calculate, if you can, the very great influence for good, for higher and nobler manhood and purer womanhood, that has permeated every state of the United States as a result of the establishment of the University of Michigan ✍ Its influence is not confined to the United States and Canada—it is world-wide. It is but a fair tribute to the University of Michigan and the citizenship of that state, to say, that in the State of Ohio in the city of Columbus, we have the Ohio State University, fashioned and patterned after the

University of Michigan, which is destined to become one of the great educational institutions of the world; an institution which, I believe, will do more for the people of Ohio than all its lawyers, all its editors, all its preachers, & all its doctors combined. ¶ Thomas Jefferson was the man who reformed our monetary system. It was he who brought about the decimal system, and induced our government to abandon the English system ☙ Those of you who think this was a small matter, would have learned better had you been in Detroit at any time within the past few years, and seen how the people there have quarreled about whether they would use Eastern Standard Time, Central Standard Time or Sun Time. For several years the people of Detroit, it seems, had no other occupation except explaining to each other, and to visitors, which kind of time they were using in making their appointments, and which kind of time they had in mind while explaining their

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failure to keep their appointments. In five minutes' time they could have agreed to either set all their watches a few minutes ahead, or to turn them back a few minutes and drop the subject forever.

And so, in the days of Jefferson, the radical, it was a matter of much controversy whether they should give up the system of pounds, shillings and pence, and adopt the system of dollars, dimes and cents. Even to this day, in some parts of the country, the people are talking about shillings.

¶ I have not tried in this hurried review of his legislative efforts, to point out all the radical propositions of this greatest political philosopher of any age, but I have demonstrated, I am sure, not only that Jefferson was a radical in 1769, but that he was so radical that his greatest follower, Abraham Lincoln, suffered martyrdom in 1865, for believing with Jefferson in the emancipation of the black slave.

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WHAT do we mean by a radical? We mean a man who pulls things up by the roots and examines them, shakes off the dirt and looks at them as they actually are, strips them of all the rubbish of superstition and the prejudice handed down from the Dark Ages; handed down from the time when men believed in alchemy and branded chemistry as heresy; handed down by the benighted brains that never saw nor dreamed of an electric light. The radical in politics and in statesmanship is he whose intellect is controlled & dominated by the same holy and poetic purpose that inspired Tennyson to say:

I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

Lincoln was a radical when, on the floor of Congress, he denounced the message of President James K. Polk as a falsified statement concerning

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conditions obtaining in the matter of Texas and Mexico. Lincoln was a radical when he delivered his Cooper Institute speech, so radical indeed, that the New York *Herald*, the leading newspaper of that day, called him a baboon, monkey and buffoon. Lincoln was a radical when he issued the Proclamation of Emancipation. Jesus of Nazareth was a radical when He overturned the tables of the money changers in the Temple, and took a whip and drove the sordid hypocrites out of the House of God.

Martin Luther was a radical when he repudiated the doctrine of the church concerning celibacy, & declared that he would not give up the love of his wife for all the wealth of Crœsus. It was an exceedingly radical proposition in his day for a religious devotee to assert that the holiest and noblest and most helpful fellowship a man could have is the wife who understands. The English barons who forced the Magna Charta from King John were radicals, and the men who signed the

Declaration of Independence were radicals. Cowardice and conservatism has not been the characteristic of any of the great leaders of any of the great reforms in the history of the world ❧ Step by step the march of democracy, which is the march of the rights of man, has been accomplished under the banner and leadership of the radical ❧ The people who have suffered under the heel of the tyrant have always been in the majority, and they are still in the majority, and they will continue to suffer under the debasing tyrannies of slaveocracy, czarocracy and trustocracy so long as God is unable to find or create enough radicals to brave the pains and the penalties of persecution, ostracism, slander, libel and assassination.

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All the good things of the world come up from the people, grow up from below, from the roots, if you please. Even God Himself, with all His chemistry, with all His power, and with all His knowledge, has never been able to fashion a great

man or a noble woman either in the palace or the castle ✍ He finds it necessary, when He wants a Jesus of Nazareth, to go to the manger; when He needs an Abraham Lincoln He goes to the humblest and meanest little cabin in the State of Kentucky. And every time some divine leader comes up branding social & economic bodies as whited sepulchers, every time a leader inspired from on High puts in his appearance, the opposing conservatives find themselves branded by this earnest radical as hypocrites and Pharisees.

One of the sad things in the history of the world is that all the hypocrites and Pharisees in the age of Jesus of Nazareth did not, like Judas, go and hang themselves. Unfortunately, the hypocrites and Pharisees have never stopped propagating and multiplying their kind and now we have a vast overproduction in every country of the world.

It was Jefferson's supreme purpose to make men think. The Declaration

of Independence was a political summary and crystallization of all the moral purpose of the laws of Moses and all the teachings of the Divine Master, who taught that you should "love your neighbor as yourself." Coming at the time it did, its chief purpose was to set men thinking of their political rights.

The purpose of the law of religious freedom for Virginia was to set men and women thinking of their religious rights, likewise the bill for universal education was to set men and women thinking of the incalculable & sacred advantages of an educated mind as against one darkened and enslaved by ignorance, superstition and prejudice. The commercial instinct tells us that "he is a benefactor who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before," but God, in His divine messages, is whispering the idea to every cultivated & civilized intellect that the supreme benefactors of all ages, the holiest and noblest teachers and preachers of all religions, are

Thomas Jefferson

those who can make two thoughts grow where only one grew before. ¶ Thought—free, untrammeled and unprejudiced thought—is the mother of invention ❧ The unequaled and unparalleled strides of progress along all the lines of transportation, mechanism, chemistry and electricity, in the last generation, are due entirely to the ever increasing intellectual purposes & privileges of those minds which have been liberated from the fetiches, superstitions and prejudices of an obsolete age ❧ Thought is the greatest architect, the greatest sculptor, the greatest painter in the universe ❧ There can be no higher architecture than the building of a head; there is no higher sculpture than the chiseling of a face; there is no higher portraiture than the painting of an expression, and nothing can prevent you from building a good head, or chiseling a good face, or painting a good expression except your own thoughts, and it was with this faith and with this belief that I

wrote in several of your albums here to-day, "You are what you think, not what you think you are," and if to-day, on this anniversary of the birthday of American liberty, you are thinking about justice to your neighbor, if you are thinking about equality, if you are thinking of loving others as you love yourself, if you are thinking of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you, then, my friends, you fully understand the meaning of the word "democracy," and if you understand the meaning of the word "democracy," you will not be merely passive or indifferent or conservative in the face of so much injustice and inequality in our great republic.

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Democracy is the doctrine of doing things. True democracy is not an organization for the benefit of a few spoilsmen. There is a wide difference between the statesmanship of democracy and the politics of democracy, as wide as the difference between a statesman & a politician. A statesman

Thomas Jefferson is a man seeking an opportunity to do something for everybody, and the politician is a man seeking an opportunity to do everybody for something.

¶ If you are a Democrat or if you are a Republican, you may be a good partisan, or you may be a good citizen, and there is a wide gulf between the two. If the party to which you belong does not make you love all humanity better and better each day, then it is high time that you change your party. I once heard a Quaker woman preach a sermon, in which she said: "If thy religion does n't change thee, then thee had better change thy religion."

And so I say in this message, that if your political party does n't day by day inspire you with a nobler and sweeter love for all your neighbors, then it is high time that you change your political religion ☙ The true Democrat is the radical who wants to make our eighty millions of people each and all educated, self-respecting, neighbor-loving men and women,

recognizing equality without regard to sex, & without regard to previous condition of religious or economic servitude. True democracy is a swarm of bees, each & all ready and willing to carry its share of honey to the hive, and each and all ready to sting the drones and cast them out.

Thomas Jefferson

As I said before, God Himself cannot make a man or woman worthy of consideration except in the crucible of industry ❧ Work is not a curse. Indolence is a beastly mother, breeding no high purpose and no sweet sentiments, breeding nothing but the imps of selfishness ❧ Earning one's bread by the sweat of one's brow—whether on the outside or the inside—is not a curse ❧ God help the children of the rich, the poor can work. I have no patience with the rich loafer, I think much less of him than I do of the poor loafer, and I have no more respect for the female loafer than I have for the male loafer. A loafer is a loafer—nothing more need be said, nothing worse can be

Thomas Jefferson said. ¶ It doesn't make any difference to me what the color or the sex, I am a strict constructionist on the word "equality," and the only thing worth living for is an opportunity to work, and the greatest privilege of work is the building of a brain. The honor of a bee is the storing of the hive with honey, and the salvation and immortality of the human being is the storing of the human brain with thought and love. I never felt quite so much pleased as when I saw carved deeply on that chapel door of the Roycrofters this thought: "Life without industry is guilt; Industry without art is brutality." If I had traveled a thousand miles to get here, and could carry back to my home only that one thought, and have it with me throughout the rest of my life, I would consider the time and the expense of the trip as the best investment ever made ☙ I repeat: "Life without industry is guilt; Industry without art is brutality." ¶ According to my understanding

of Thomas Jefferson, the radical, this was his conception of the principle and sentiments which should govern the life and career of every American citizen.

Thomas Jefferson

I think my friend Powderly, and Carroll D. Wright, and others who are working on the statistics of labor, tell us that if all the men and women in this country were to work two hours and thirty minutes a day, we could produce as much food, clothing and shelter as each of us needs and now uses. Why is it, then, that a mother's work is never done, and that men are still driven eight, ten or twelve hours a day? Why should we not work two hours and thirty minutes a day, and spend the rest of our time in hanging pictures on the wall, putting beautiful art glass in the windows, covering our floors with carpets, listening to sweet music, and holding communion with the master minds of the centuries, whose books would be so easily within our reach in these days of Roycroft industry

Thomas Jefferson

and ingenuity? ¶ I have heard it said that a country that can raise good hogs can raise good men, but I am afraid that the commercial spirit of this age is showing a disposition to consolidate the two and make mere hogs of the men in order to increase the commercial assets of the country. Greed and vanity are the examples furnished us by the trustocracy, and the young manhood and the young womanhood of this country seem to be more desirous of imitating this so-called social "Four Hundred," than to practise the radicalism of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Washington and the Adamses.

It is vanity, it is selfishness, which develops and establishes trustocracy in the land ☙ This desire to strut and pose as the superior of your neighbors, is the actual cause and substance of the parasite who lives on the labor of others. The difference between the parasite and other men is only a matter of degree. The farmer

is very apt to be a man who wants to own all the adjoining farms. The merchant in the city is very apt to be a man who wants to own all the stores in the city. This greed to be the whole thing and to own the earth is not solely confined within the thick pachyderm of kings and czars.

I remember the story of a preacher in a country community, who went from house to house soliciting money to repair the church. One of the farmers replied: "I can't subscribe, I need all my money." "What for?" said the preacher. "I want to buy another farm." "What for?" said the preacher. "To raise more corn," said the farmer. "What for?" said the preacher. "To fatten more hogs," said the farmer. "What for?" said the preacher. "To sell and get more money," said the farmer. "What for?" said the preacher. "To buy more land," said the farmer.

And thus, my friends, we are all living in a civilization where the tendency and the temptation is to

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get into the treadmill of more land, more corn, more hogs, more money. Oh, for an age and a civilization where the universal cry shall not be more land, more corn, more hogs, & more money, but more men, more women, more brain and more heart! If we are to be monopolists, let us be monopolists of the intellectual and spiritual substance, with which God's universe is stored so full, so high, so deep and so wide that there is enough for all of us. The dollar should be regarded as only a crowbar to open the safe of civilization.

Doctor Gladden stands forth to-day as conspicuous against one of the grossest crimes of our civilization as did Abraham Lincoln against negro slavery. The great power which the Rockefellers have acquired in this country is by the corrupt use of their money. The system with which John D. Rockefeller has been identified is one which has depended largely upon corruption for its greatest power. It is a system which to-day furnishes

the corruption funds in the cities and states of this Union by which the nominations of the legislative and even the judicial candidates are made. City councilmen, state legislators, national legislators, and judges alike receive their nominations in both the parties in many communities at the hands of hired political bosses, whose corruption funds are furnished them by the men who represent the great corporate interests such as the steam railways, the street railways, the Standard Oil and other institutions which live and fatten by the special privileges secured from the hands of the puppets placed in power by this so-called system.

Thomas Jefferson

And it was high time that Doctor Washington Gladden, or some other great and courageous representative of God's kingdom on earth, should point the finger of scorn at this school of hypocrites and Pharisees ✍ I am proud of the fact that Washington Gladden is an honored and eminent citizen of my own city of Columbus;

Thomas Jefferson

that he has for years been recognized as the ablest man in the pulpit in the State of Ohio, and all good men and all good women ought to be thankful that this man had the courage and character to point the finger of scorn at John D. Rockefeller and say, "Thou art the man."

What we need most in this age is a Jeffersonian radical, and such choice characters as Washington Gladden, Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, John Brisben Walker, Thomas Lawson, S. S. McClure, William Randolph Hearst, Elbert Hubbard and Eugene Debs are but a few of the patriots of this day and this generation who will lead the millions to a higher plane of intellectual light and moral purpose than that ever attained in the past.

¶ We have Washington Gladden and Ida Tarbell to thank for the eleven millions of money contributed to the cause of education by Mr. John D. Rockefeller within the past few weeks. I like the argument made by Mr. Rockefeller in support of my

hero, Thomas Jefferson, the radical. This contribution of eleven million dollars by Rockefeller is a confession by him that in order to purchase respectability he must make gigantic contributions to the cause of free education, a proof on his part that Jefferson's bill for free education, although it was defeated in 1777—ignominiously defeated—was a bill so sacred and holy that Rockefeller confesses that the surest way he can divert public attention from the wave of contempt which is about to engulf him is by contributions to the cause of education.

Thomas Jefferson

By these gifts Rockefeller concedes that the great mission of American manhood is not to acquire and retain millions, but that the noblest cause to be served in this grand American Republic is to furnish an opportunity to the children of the poor to blossom a heart and ripen a brain equal to that of Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Socrates and Pericles ✍ These five choice intellects were the product of

the little city of Athens almost in a single generation. One might well say that they lived so near each other that they shook hands each with the others, and the question that often comes to me is why is it not possible for such minds as these to be reared in a single generation in all the great cities of America? Along scientific lines, in the fields of transportation, machinery and electricity, we have the equals if not the superiors of these intellectual giants of ancient times, but let us not forget that the time is ripe for giants and heroes in the science of government, that we may lift this entire republic into a higher atmosphere of equality.

You men and women who are here from all parts of the United States, honoring this your Mecca, are doing a great work each in your respective communities emphasizing the urgent necessity of thinking, emphasizing the necessity of exercising the brain and the heart in all the light and science of this electric age. And if in

each of your communities you are exercising the heart and the brain of equality, then you are devoting your energies to the cause of the equality of the sexes in every particular. The same Wendell Phillips, the same William Lloyd Garrison, the same Benjamin Lundy who advocated the liberty of the negro slave, began the agitation for woman's equality — Benjamin Lundy, the little Quaker, who taught William Lloyd Garrison his first lessons against negro slavery, was reared in a Quaker home, reared in a Quaker church, married to a Quaker girl, believed and preached and practised the Quaker doctrine of equality of the sexes.

I hope that each and every one of us may take a new courage and a new resolution from this East Aurora meeting, and go home determined not only for that equality which will level down the trustocracy to the plane of all democracy, but level up the women of our great republic to a plane of democracy and equality,

Thomas Jefferson

making the Declaration of 1776 not merely a prophecy and a dream, but a reality and a consummation.

The only quarrel I have with you, Elbert Hubbard and Alice Hubbard, is that you have not placed enough pictures of the great women of the world on the walls of this institution. You have a room dedicated to George Eliot, and another one to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, but you should not forget there was an American woman who preached a sermon that was greater than any ever preached by her great and immortal brother. I refer to Harriet Beecher Stowe. Her *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did more for liberty and equality than did all the sermons of Henry Ward Beecher, the greatest of American preachers. There are other women also whose pictures and whose names should decorate the walls of this Roycroft University, and I am sure when we come back on some other occasion, we shall see that the Hubbards have done their full duty in this direction

as they have in so many others ❧ ¶ Not only would I have you take back to your respective homes the thought that the time is ripe for legislation and for amendments to the constitution that will secure the equality of women, but there is also another great reform that ought to be in operation before the close of President Roosevelt's term, and that is, the improvement of the postal service by the installation of the telegraph in every post-office of the republic. There are only twenty-five thousand Western Union offices in this country, while there are over seventy-five thousand post-offices ❧ This leaves more than fifty thousand centers of population where there is no way to communicate thought by electricity.

Thomas Jefferson

No one can explain why the national government has been so dilatory in this except by the same explanation which must be given in shame for so many other short-comings in our governmental affairs. It is estimated

Thomas Jefferson

that thirty words could be sent by wire, no matter what the distance, for the petty sum of five cents. In other words, instead of sending a letter by using a two-cent stamp, we would use a five-cent stamp to send a telegram, whether we sent it to the neighboring town or sent it to the Pacific coast.

In Franklin's day, when post-offices and post-roads were established, we carried thought on horseback at the rate of forty miles a day. At this time we are carrying thought on the iron horse at the rate of sixty miles an hour. What reason can be given why we should not be using God's electricity to send messages of thirty words three thousand miles in thirty seconds at a cost of only five cents?

¶ More than seventy bills have been introduced in Congress to install a postal telegraph, but not one of them has been passed. Out of the nineteen committees appointed to investigate the matter, seventeen have reported favorably, and yet we do not have

the postal telegraph, and the only opposition to it among the eighty millions of people is the one family that owns and controls the Western Union. If the people understood the science of government, they would soon call to a reckoning those who represent them at Washington and have this reform without any further delay.

Thomas Jefferson

In a recent issue of *The Philistine* our friend Hubbard published John Wanamaker's statement about the parcel post ❧ Mr. Wanamaker, in explaining why he could not get Congress to act, stated that there were only five arguments against the parcel post, and these five arguments were the Adams Express Company, the United States Express Company, the American Express Company, the Wells Fargo Express Company and the Southern Express Company ❧ ¶ And so, my friends, there is only one argument against the installation of the postal telegraph, and that is the Western Union.

Thomas Jefferson

How long will it be before you use your heads on a question like this and become radicals? How long will it be before President Roosevelt will be radical enough to call the attention of Congress to the urgent necessity of investigating this great trust that has a monopoly of the privilege and right to transmit thought by wire? The national government used the people's money to enable Professor Morse to make the experiments with an electric telegraph, which resulted in sending the first message between Baltimore and Washington ❧ Will some one explain how it happens that to-day the national government and the eighty millions of people have been cheated out of their legal title to this great property right? ¶ You and I know that there is no sensible argument against the postal telegraph. You and I know there is no good and sufficient reason why the post-office system in this country should be inferior to that of most European countries. You and I know

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that there is no good reason why the American government should not avail itself of the use of electricity in transmitting thought. If Franklin was right in carrying thought on horseback, if the governmental policy was correct in transferring the burden from the horse to the locomotive, then why should we not take the next step and make use of God's electricity for the benefit of all the people ?

I insist upon it that the best is none too good for the poorest and the humblest in this land. I insist upon it that it would be better for this government to stop its expenditures on an increasing army and navy, and instead make an appropriation for the construction of the postal telegraph system at once.

I know there are those who call themselves conservatives who are opposed to any reform, and opposed to all progress. We had conservatives in the days of George Washington. We now speak of them with scorn

Thomas Jefferson

and call them Tories. In every age, in every race, in every nation, we have that class of catering, cringing things that call themselves conservatives. It was the conservative that crucified Jesus; it was the conservative that executed John Brown; it was the conservative that murdered Lovejoy; it was the conservative that spit upon Wendell Phillips & stoned William Lloyd Garrison in the streets of Boston. With this array of facts against the conservative, it is high time that he be known and branded as a public enemy.

I do not consider it any honor or credit to a man to say that he was a conservative when the great crime of negro slavery was here. Neither is it a credit to a man to say that he is a conservative to-day when the great crime of female slavery is here. Nor is it any credit to a man to say that he is a conservative, when one trust, when one monopoly, deprives the eighty millions of people of the right to transmit their thoughts and to

transact their business by the use of God's electricity at actual cost. Property rights have had their day. We have talked all too long about vested rights. The hour is at hand when the men and women of highest moral purpose, not only here but in other countries, have stepped onto that upper plane where they are demanding of governments that they consider human rights, and moral rights and sentimental rights ❧ The civilization of the coming age will be known as the age of love, as the age of affection and as the age of sentiment. Here, on this side of the ocean, or nowhere, the human race will be lifted up to that high plane of equality where the majority will no longer be subordinated by the tyrants, where the greatest good to the greatest number will mean not merely commercial assets but will mean intellectual and spiritual good. ¶ Here in this country, or nowhere, we shall rear the men and women fit for higher and nobler things than the

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accumulation of money, and the concentration of power within the possession of a few, that they may use it to dominate and tyrannize over the millions of their fellow citizens. I am tired of reading in literature that "He was the noblest Roman of them all." I am exceedingly anxious to live to see the time when the very highest manhood and womanhood of the world will make it necessary for the new literature to describe the highest attainment intellectually and morally by saying of some heroic personality, "He was the noblest American of them all."

Thomas Jefferson was aware that the greatest citizenship was possible only in a country that had the greatest intellectual liberty. Thomas Jefferson was a philosopher, and he was more than that, he was a prophet. To his keen insight and high moral intellect it was clear that the mission of this country was to produce men and women rather than dollars, pig iron and pork. From 1769 down to 1826,

Thomas Jefferson

a period of fifty-seven years, Thomas Jefferson's life was dedicated and consecrated to the sacred cause of the intellectual and spiritual property of every human being, and well might he say on his deathbed: "I have done for my country and for all mankind all that I could do, and I now resign my soul without fear to my God." Even in this dying expression he recognized and preached the fact that in doing God's service & accounting for the same, it was only necessary to report to Peter at the gate, "I have done for my country and for all mankind all that I could do." He knew that Peter would ask him no questions as to whether he believed in "infant damnation," or whether he believed in "sprinkling" or in "immersion." He knew that On High the only test of your religion would be applied by an inquiry into your acts in behalf of your neighbors. ¶ That Thomas Jefferson was both sincerity and integrity personified, is best shown by the memorandum left

Thomas Jefferson

indicating what he desired inscribed upon his tombstone. It was his request that his last resting place be marked by a simple granite shaft, and that upon this granite these words should be carved:

HERE LIES BURIED
THOMAS JEFFERSON
Author of
The Declaration of Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom
and Father of the University of Virginia

Mark these words, mark these three recitals, concerning equality, religious freedom and education; each and all of them represent the life work of a man who recognized no other test or criterion of manhood or womanhood except intellectual attainment.

We have just closed the greatest of all the Worlds' Fairs. The St. Louis Exposition cost three times as many millions of dollars as it cost Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, to purchase half a continent. Three times as much was spent in

preparing to celebrate this one act of Jefferson's presidential career as was expended for the entire Louisiana Purchase, and yet Jefferson himself did not deem it worthy of mention. Neither was his character blemished with that kind of vanity which would care to record the fact that he had been twice elected President of the United States. Material & mercenary things, worldly fame and glory, did not appeal to his philosophic mind. I am doubtful whether he would have suggested any inscription had it not been God's purpose to have Thomas Jefferson proclaim even from the granite that marks his last resting place that the radical, and the radical alone, is the man who keeps the fires of progress burning upon the altars of equality, religious freedom, and education.

Jefferson was the greatest political philosopher, the greatest political agitator, the greatest political radical the world has ever known, and I know of no higher tribute to pay to

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson than to remind you again of Lincoln's declaration that he never entertained a sentiment which he did not draw from the life and writings of Thomas Jefferson, and the sweet sentiment and loving charity of Lincoln's brain and heart were never better expressed, than when he said to one of his friends: "I hope it will be said of me when I am dead and gone, by those who know me best, that I always plucked a thistle and planted a flower when I thought a flower would grow."

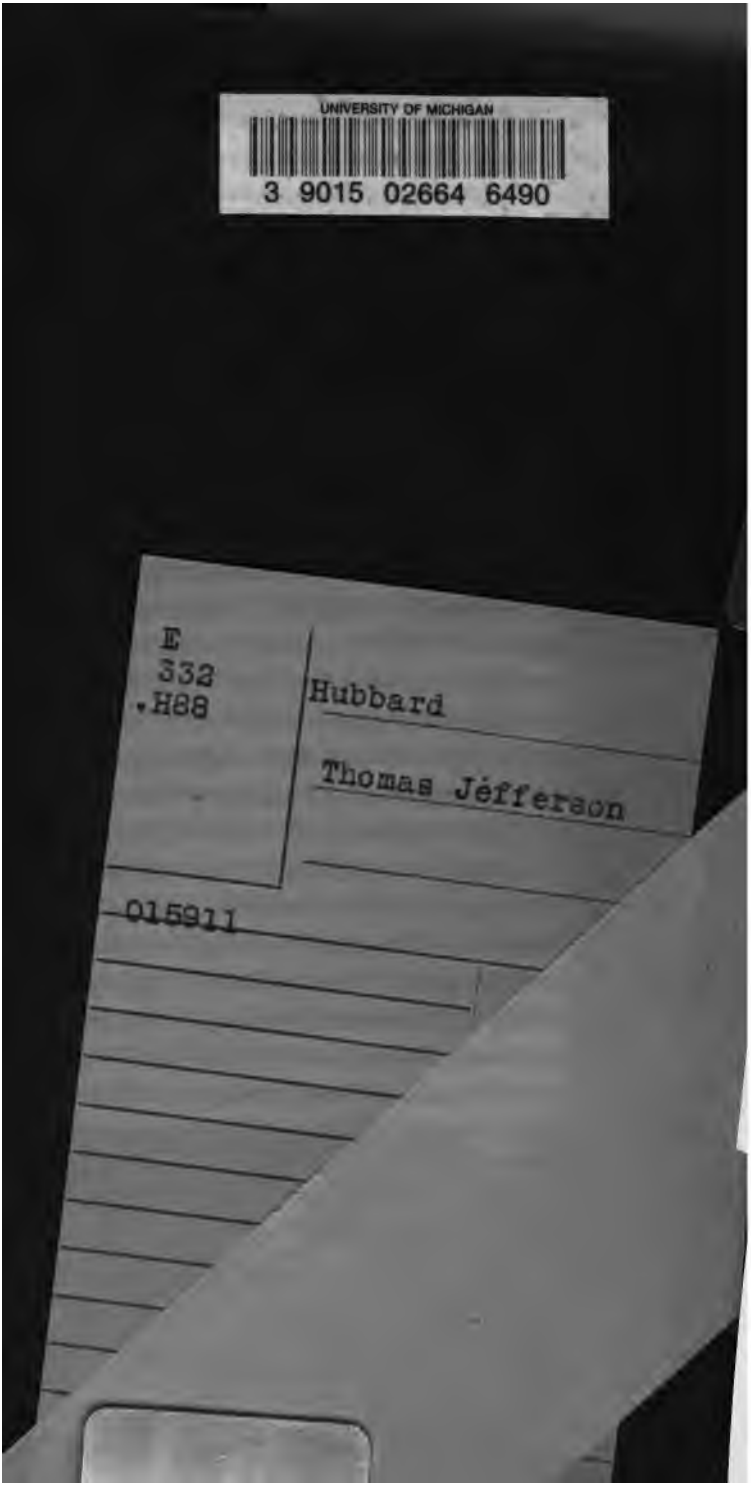
I know of no language sweeter or more poetic than this expression of Lincoln, the radical disciple, who was great enough to admit that his own ripe and patriotic soul was but the result of the radical teaching of his great master, Thomas Jefferson.

In this great age, with manifestations of God's increasing purpose on every hand, I am not a pessimist, believing that the most patriotic souls are in the grave. I believe there are to-day American men and women with a

patriotic purpose as great as that of Jefferson and Lincoln, and I believe that you and I will live to see the names of other great radicals carved in God's firmament, high above the horizon, shining like the stars of eternity, more enduring than the granite over Jefferson's grave, in memory of the heroic struggles, the sacrifices, the ostracism, persecution, martyrdom & victories of radicalism. ¶ And it remains for you and me, in the exercise and expression of our highest patriotic devotion to the perpetuity of this great American Republic, to thank God for every radical He has ever given to the children of men, and to demonstrate the sincerity of our thankfulness, not by slandering, but by praising and immortalizing the life and career of the greatest of American radicals, Thomas Jefferson.

Thomas Jefferson

Here endeth the Two Articles on Thomas Jefferson, written by Elbert Hubbard and John J. Lentz, and Printed with Rubricated Side-heads on Italian Hand-Made Paper, by The Roycrofters, at their Shop, which is in East Aurora, Erie Co., New York, U. S. A. MCMVI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